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seem to have been used judiciously and to good advantage. In scope the book is more than a mere chronicle of events in Macon's life; it embraces as a background for its peculiar subject not a little of national history from the Revolution to the accession of Jackson, and more especially of North Carolina history as related to national affairs and to Macon's career. The author's attitude is temperate and scholarly, but sympathetic. He emphasizes, as cardinal points in Macon's political character, his integrity, his insistence upon economy, his ardent local patriotism, and his belief in democracy. He finds Macon's best expression of political faith in his declaration that "In proportion as men live easily and comfortably, in proportion as they are free from the burdens of taxation, they will be attached to the government in which they live" (p. 288). Macon's speech on the repeal of the Judiciary Act, printed in an appendix, is pronounced "the longest and most characteristic speech of his congressional career" (p. 404). Professor Dodd's general estimate of Macon is indicated by the following sentences from his concluding pages: "His place in history must be determined by his relations to the South as a distinct section of the nation. He believed . . . that next to the State the South had the first demands on his service . . . Macon must be regarded as Randolph's counterpart in founding the creed of the secessionists; he was a stronger and more influential man than 'his brilliant but flighty friend of Roanoke' . . . He was a Southern statesman in the sectional sense . . . *He actually believed in democracy*" (pp. 400-401).

In conclusion some matters of detail call for a word of comment. For instance, the Missouri Compromise line is given as "36 degrees 40 seconds" (p. 318). We read that "Importation of foreign slaves into the United States had been prohibited by the Constitution after January 1, 1808" (p. 212). We may question whether Monroe was "an exceedingly wise and able President" (p. 299) and Van Buren "the ablest of our public men of the second order" (p. 391). Still more may we dissent from the opinion that the slavery struggle culminating in the Civil War was merely a matter of dollars and to be explained on economic grounds alone (pp. 103, 213). Certainly it is a little surprising that Macon's speech upon the proposed government for newly-purchased Louisiana is not mentioned, while his opinions and utterances upon matters of much less present-day or permanent interest are given due attention.

PAUL S. PEIRCE.

The Lower South in American History. By WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN. (New York: The Macmillian Company. 1902. Pp. xi, 271.)

THIS volume is made up of eight papers. The substance of the first three was given as "public lectures at Harvard University and at various Southern colleges". The next three were published originally in *The Atlantic Monthly*, and only the last two appear for the first time. The

first three papers give title to the volume. Here the author concisely analyzes the conditions that he conceives made it possible for the lower South to exercise a controlling influence in national affairs from "the admission of Missouri in 1820 to the secession of South Carolina". He contrasts Alabama as typical of the lower south, with Virginia as representing the upper, and succinctly points out the social, religious, and industrial differences between them.

There were few if any racial differences, as the immigrants to the newer country came mainly from "the older seaboard Southern states". More than half of the population was made up of planters and farmers. Their industrial life differed from that in Virginia "chiefly in the concentration of land and slaves in fewer hands, in the greater immediate profitableness of agriculture, and in the greater rapidity with which lands were exhausted". Three-fourths of the 335,000 slaves in the state were owned "by less than ten thousand men". In "manufactures, banking, commerce, and all other industries" not more than 100,000 persons were engaged.

There was an intense religious life. The "richer planters and their associates" accepted the Episcopalian form of worship. The Baptists and Methodists were strong everywhere. In 1850 there were nearly fifteen hundred houses of worship. Popular education however languished. There was no organized public-school system until late in the fifties, and the percentage of illiterates was large. The best intellect of the state went into medicine or the ministry, "but oftener into the law, and through the law into politics". When Monroe retired from the Presidency in 1825, and the ascendancy of Virginia in national affairs came to an end, the influence Virginia had wielded was taken up and continued by the "Black Belt".

The author's analysis is interesting, but he probably claims too much for the lower South in controlling national action on the questions of tariff, internal improvements, and finance. And on the question of the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War his position is not wholly tenable. He says:

Slavery had to do with the seizure of Texas and the attempts upon Cuba. But we may not attribute to that alone this single act in the long drama which began before the first slave landed in Virginia and ended in 1898. The true cause of it was that old land hunger which half the world has not satisfied. . . . When the last act came on, and Mexico had to be conquered, it was mainly volunteers from the Cotton states, joined by a few of their Northern friends, like Franklin Pierce, who swelled our little army to the strength the enterprise demanded (pp. 77-78).

No doubt both causes played a part. It hardly can be gainsaid, however, that the interests of slavery were the immediate and dominant motives. Slavery explains the land-hunger of that time. The acquisition of new territory for the erection of new slave states to maintain the South's equality in the Senate to bolster up slavery was the controlling motive.

Of the remaining papers, one is on William Lowndes Yancey, "the orator of secession". Another is on the resources of the Confederacy. This is based on Professor John C. Schwab's excellent work on the financial and industrial history of the south during the Civil War. The third is a concise account of the origin and organization of the Ku Klux movement in the first years following the war. The fourth, "A New Hero of an Old Type", is a rhetorical eulogy on Lieutenant Richard Hobson. The fifth and last is entitled "Shifting the White Man's Burden". In this paper the author considers the disfranchise movement in the south, but finds no solution of the problem. Mr. Brown has written an interesting and suggestive book. His treatment is fair; his statement is clear though at times he is somewhat too rhetorical. The book is not a history, but is an excellent beginning toward one. It makes little if any contribution of fact, and its chief value is in its suggestiveness.

JOHN WILLIAM PERRIN.

The Republican Party : A History of its Fifty Years' Existence and a Record of its Measures and Leaders, 1854-1904. By FRANCIS CURTIS. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1904. Two vols., pp. xxi, 532; v, 566.)

THESE volumes are written by a candid party advocate. The author, obviously, has believed in the Republican party in the past, believes in it to-day, and bids fair to continue to believe in it in time to come. The volumes contain a "Foreword" by President Roosevelt and "Introductions" by Hon. William P. Frye, President *pro tempore* of the Senate, and Hon. J. G. Cannon, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The work may be regarded, therefore, as a party history officially recognized. Though not impartial, the work may be said to be useful and fair, as it accomplishes very well its aim of setting forth fully and clearly, though without attempt at philosophical exposition, what the Republican party has accomplished during the fifty years of its history. The author does this with a good sense of proportion and selection. Whatever one may think of Republican policies, the life of one of our great parties will be recognized as a theme worthy of the party historian; and as a record of party creed and achievement Mr. Curtis's work is worthy of commendation and appreciation.

The author opens his work with the birth of the Republican party under the oaks at Jackson, the fiftieth anniversary of which event has recently been fittingly celebrated; yet half his first volume is taken up with a preliminary review of the great slavery controversy that brought the Republican party into being. The author goes at considerable length into the formative and heroic period of the Republican party, when it contended against the extension of slavery, when it required nerve, the severance of party ties, and the sacrifice of personal reputations and interests to stand for the cause; and he very properly gives large space to the complex party situation of 1854 and 1856. Scant attention is